Chapter 11: Indigenous psychology in New Zealand

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[insert abstract]

In an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world, the internationalization of Eurocentric psychology is not a new venture (Nikora et al., 2017). With its early beginnings in Europe and subsequent evolution in the USA, the discipline has largely relied on Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic (WEIRD) samples to develop the distinct discipline we know of as psychology today (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzaya, 2010). The world has likewise eagerly engaged with WEIRD psychology, voraciously consuming the discipline's knowledge, methods and applications (Nikora et al., 2017). This is evident in many countries across the Asia-Pacific region and Aotearoa New Zealand is one such nation.

As a small isolated island nation, Aotearoa New Zealand has had limited productive power, we have primarily been an importer of international technology, knowledge and expertise, mainly from European and North American knowledge sources (Nikora, et al 2014; Nikora, Levy, Masters-Awatere & Waitoki in Allwood & Berry, 2006). Our textbooks, library collections, teaching, and research methods have been predominantly modelled on these pooled sources, allowing for the easy movement of students, teachers, and researchers between countries and fields of practice (Nikora et al., 2017). European and North American psychology has undeniably experienced notoriety or 'success' through its international propagation. However, WEIRD psychology offers only a single cultural lens through which we can view the social world and too often does so through denying and assimilating other cultural perspectives. When dominated by one way of knowing, the consequences may well be imperialism, racism, cultural violence, and the further denigration of Indigenous peoples

(Watkins & Shulman, 2008; Walia, 2013). This realisation has fuelled many movements to indigenise psychology in different parts of the world, including those in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Indigenous peoples have been primarily constructed within WEIRD psychology as the exotic and naïve subjects of research (Groot, Rua, Awatere-Masters, Dudgeon & Garvey, 2012). We have often been denied the status of informed research leaders and producers of legitimate psychological knowledge. In many respects, Indigenous psychologies remain marginalised in the broader discipline of psychology (Groot et.al., 2012). Research in the global discipline has failed to recognise or embrace our own psychological frameworks, histories, and socio-political conditions and worldviews. This is peculiar, considering many Indigenous psychological traditions pre-date the short formal history of WEIRD psychology (Nikora et al., 2017; Hodgetts et al., 2018). Arguably, Ancient China arguably had a psychology of workplace assessment and appraisal dating back over 4000 years (Nikora et al., 2017). Further, psychological research rarely employs cultural concepts unique to our distinct groups, beyond tokenism, when interpreting our thoughts and practices (Hodgetts et al., 2010; Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Leggat-Cook, 2011). These omissions reflect missed opportunities to broaden and enrich our psychological knowledge. They also reflect the continued dominance of European and North American worldviews in our societies (in general) and the discipline of psychology (specifically). For dominant groups, power and privilege is normalised through controlling knowledge production and practice in psychology in ways that pose serious challenges for Māori (the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand) engaging with the discipline (Nikora et al., 2017).

Despite working in a disciplinary environment textured by such tensions and issues of cultural violence and legitimacy, Māori psychology continues to expand and has a strong presence not only in Aotearoa New Zealand but also internationally. Many Māori psychologists continue to fight for the centralising of cultural nuance and Indigenous approaches in the development of locally relevant psychologies (Nikora, Levy, Masters-Awatere & Waitoki in Allwood & Berry, 2006; Nikora et al., 2007; Nikora et al., 2014; Nikora et al., 2017; Hodgetts et la., 2010; Hodgetts et al., 2018). As with all Indigenous peoples, we retain a unique and distinctive worldview. Indigenous psychologies in Aotearoa New Zealand recognise that Māori have complex and highly developed understandings of themselves and that there is more than

one legitimate approach for understanding the social world and the place of different people within it (Groot et al., 2012).

The present chapter focuses on the indigenization of psychology in Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori psychology should be distinguished from other forms of culture-oriented psychologies such as cross-cultural psychology and cultural psychology. Cross-cultural psychology typically has a comparative perspective (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002) and cultural psychology is a perspective inspired by the activity theory created by Soviet psychologists (Vygotsky, Leontiev, and others) and writings in social anthropology (Cole, 1996). In considering the proliferation of Māori psychology, we will examine the dual processes of (1) localizing knowledge from abroad, attentive to the cultural biases present in such approaches and (2) developing psychological knowledge from our own cultural contexts. In this chapter, we are committed to a broad definition of psychology that encompasses interdisciplinary research that contributes to the conceptualisation of Māori psychological knowledge, aspirations, lives and worldviews. We approach Indigenous psychology, first and foremost, by valuing who we are, here in Aotearoa New Zealand. To exemplify developments in Māori psychology, we will outline some of the theoretical and methodological resources that we have utilised in our efforts to engage a decolonising praxis (cf. Sonn, Rua, & Quayle, 2018).

The experiences of tangata whenua (people of the land)

A relatively remote island nation situated in the southwestern Pacific Ocean, geographically New Zealand encompasses two main landmasses. These landmasses refer to the North Island, or Te Ika-a-Māui (the fish of Maui), and the South Island, or Te Waipounamu (the water[s] of greenstone) – as well as many smaller surrounding islands. Throughout history, the Māori population has largely been concentrated in the North Island. Although, such colonial borders between North and South were artificially created by colonial powers to advance their political goals, ignoring tribal understandings of relatedness that transcend physical distances (cf. Miles, 2014). Māori comprise 15 percent of the total population of New Zealand and are the largest minoritized ethnic group (Statistics New Zealand 2013).

The collective name for Māori began with the arrival of the first colonial ships and by 1850 was in common usage to differentiate Māori from Pākehā (colonising/settler population primarily descending from the United Kingdom) (cf. Williams, 1971). The Indigenous

language term, Māori, is made up of two interconnected parts. 'Mā' denotes brightness, freshness, and purity (Bahadur Hāweatea Bryson, 2015). It accompanies specific word groupings to convey illumination whereas, 'ori' is vibration. If we are vibrating the Mā, there is the potential for transformation and enlightenment. Māori than is the essence of our human possibility (Bahadur Hāweatea Bryson, 2015). Although dialectal and cultural differences most certainly exist[ed] between Māori tribal groups, a common language reflects considerable elements of shared cultural tradition across distinct groups. Further, alongside a shared language, the relatively small size of New Zealand compared to other colonial contexts such as Australia or Canada meant Māori could also more easily coordinate and share information when confronted by colonial administrators.

By the 1790s, when Europeans began to settle in earnest in New Zealand, they were highly dependent on Māori good will and economic and social support (King et al., 2017). In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between the British Crown and several tribal leaders which "had the potential to deliver benefits to all parties" (Durie, 2005: 15). This was unique, even at the height of British imperialism, which was fuelled primarily by greed and pseudo-scientific racism, the colonial government was unable to dismiss Indigenous claims for political recognition (Groot & Peters, 2016). The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi recognised distinctive rights that stemmed from notions of the doctrine of Aboriginal title and which went beyond a simple acknowledgement to prescribing a relationship between Māori and the British Crown (Durie, 2002). While the development of New Zealand as a nation-state would appear to be firmly grounded in egalitarian values, historical and ongoing colonial processes posit that this is not always so in practice.

The settler government quickly imposed British concepts of title and ownership, and the resulting land alienation and the confiscation of land and resources from Māori who resisted meant that by the mid-1800s the Crown and the New Zealand Company had obtained nearly 99 percent of the South Island and 20 percent of the North Island (Durie 2005, Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2015). The settler government failed to recognize Māori fishing, subsurface and water rights. Māori dispossession, impoverishment and introduced diseases led to massive population decline and expectations of extinction popularly expressed through ostentatious memorials and commissioned art preserving and fare-welling the 'noble savage' (Te Awekotuku, 2005; Smith, 2011; Groot & Peters, 2016; Roen & Groot, 2018). The contemporary preoccupation in WEIRD psychological research of the deficit-framing of Māori

(and indeed, Indigenous and minoritized peoples worldwide) in many ways mirrors and perpetuates such extinction myths. As noted in the following section, the introduction of the discipline of psychology in Aotearoa New Zealand often acts as an extension of the 'civilising' mission associated with colonial projects.

With colonialism came urbanisation, displacement, disease, war, death, and knowledge suppression, resulting in the degradation of Māori kinship systems, economic capacity, culture, and spiritual-connectedness (Groot, Vandenburg & Hodgetts, 2017). In contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand, histories of domination and repression carry grave consequences for the health and wellbeing of Māori. Although structural intrusions have posed significant challenges to Māori wellness, it is important to note that Māori are not, and never have been, passive in the face of socio-political upheavals. We are resilient and adaptive (Nikora, Rua & Te Awekōtuku 2007). Claims to, and the affirmation of, cultural identities and practices by Indigenous peoples are common responses to such histories of oppression, and offer authenticity, a sense of belonging, and the basis for gaining human rights (Dudgeon & Fielder 2006; Smith 1999). In the following section, we explore how the unique history, location and socio-political environment of Aotearoa New Zealand has implications for psychological teaching, research and practice.

Māori dissatisfaction with WEIRD psychology

Historically, knowledge about Māori was written by British social scientists and other representatives of the colonial government who imposed their interpretations of Māori into the research (Bishop, 1998; Mikaere, 2011). Much of this research was imperialist, racist and incorrect. The opportunities to create this knowledge enabled Western researchers to determine and define knowledge about Māori and control the ways in which this knowledge became applied. As Russell Bishop (1998) writes, 'traditional research has misrepresented Māori understandings and ways of knowing by simplifying, conglomerating, and commodifying Māori knowledge for consumption by the colonizers' (p. 200). Due to this history of research that perpetuates colonial cultural superiority, many Māori have become suspicious of researchers and their agendas. This is because the work produced by colonists often result in assumptions of an inability of Māori to cope with or respond effectively to the social determinants of health and, as such, the ongoing endurance of racist myths (Bishop, 1998;

Smith, 1999). Further, dominant and dominating practices of knowledge production have served to enhance the careers of colonisers whilst impeding the development of accountability in research and the legitimisation of diverse cultural epistemologies and cosmologies (Bishop, 1998; King et al., 2017).

The field of psychology is filled with examples of the testing and refinement of theories – for example, of child development, learning, personality, emotions and 'abnormal' behaviour - which have not proved particularly useful for Māori (cf. Smith, 2012). In fact, many of these conceptual frameworks have been damaging to us because underpinning cross-cultural work in these areas are deficit-based assumptions that position Māori as inherently lacking, inadequate and problematic when compared to Eurocentric norms (as above). Moreover, WEIRD psychology's relentless search for discoverable universal laws by eliminating the influence of context and culture result in the erasure of what it means to be Māori (King et al., 2017) as well as human (Kim & Berry, 1993). Seymour Sarason (Trickett, 2015) refers to this as 'Psychology Misdirected'. This reflects the pervasive influence of the broader capitalist American culture on a commodified North American Psychology, which is then exported to our shores. This has resulted in a psychology that is asocial, acultural, ahistorical, and victim blaming (Ryan, 1971) whereby the 'individual' needs therapeutic corrections designed to produce 'normal subjects' that comply with Eurocentric standards (Constantine, Myers, Kindaichi, & Moore, 2004; Hodgetts et al., 2010).

The main issue with this approach is that the application of WEIRD psychological knowledge has resulted in dismal failures (cf., Allwood & Berry, 2005). For example, Eurocentric assumptions about the independent and autonomous self has been used to assess the lives and mental health of people whose cosmologies place emphasis on the interconnectedness between people and environments (Hodgetts et al, 2010). Further, Abbott and Durie (1987) found psychology to be the most monocultural of all the professional training programmes that they surveyed. They argued that to produce a culturally competent workforce that can work effectively and ethically with Māori, the substantial inclusion of Māori content in curriculum development is imperative (Nikora, Levy, Masters-Awatere & Waitoki in Allwood & Berry, 2006). Since then, much has been achieved, but much more remains to be done (Levy, 2002).

Contemporary research is still often *about* and *on*, rather than *with* Māori. We know the devastating social issues affecting Indigenous communities; we know too many Māori are

incarcerated (intergenerationally), over/misdiagnosed, addicted, under-educated, living in poverty and are unlikely to receive the benefits of a pension given our significantly earlier death rate than that of the colonising population (King, Rua & Hodgetts, 2017; Groot, Vandenburg & Hodgetts, 2017). WEIRD psychology has not hidden this from us, and while it is great at noting the many issues impacting Māori its attempts to engage with our strengths, knowledge frameworks, histories, capacities, and solutions to these issues is minimal (Groot et.al., 2011; Groot et.al., 2012). Too often psychology measures us, observes us and ignores us. Amidst such an environment, research that hypothesises the causes of a pre-determined 'problem' in relation to Māori without engaging in the socio-political and historical contexts driving such issues (e.g. colonisation, socio-economic oppression, displacement, and urbanisation), inadvertently perpetuates racist myths, which are then presented as scientific 'facts' (Smith, 2006; Teo, 2011; Pihama, 2011). Similarly, in cross-cultural research, Māori are typically compared to Pākehā (colonising/settler population primarily descending from the United Kingdom) normative standards of socio-cultural, ethnic, and socio-economic privilege. As such, our understanding of the devastating social issues impacting Māori will always rest upon notions of an inherent deficit within Māori culture and peoples (Pihama, 2011). This of course functions to justify even more intense political, economic and therapeutic interventions from colonising groups (Watkins & Shulman, 2008). Breaking open the paradigms through which we think can be a difficult and painful process. Through the lens of Māori psychologies, transformation in our thinking, symbolizing, relating, and imagining is not only possible but necessary if we are to address the inequitable power relationships between colonised and colonising groups (Watkins & Shulman, 2008).

In sum, educational institutions (including higher institutions of learning such as universities) disproportionately promote the worldview developed by 'Western civilizations', a practice known as Eurocentric education. The dominant WEIRD perspective within psychology that is modelled on the physical sciences has imposed itself on the Aotearoa New Zealand context to the detriment of local perspectives (including Māori psychologies) (Hodgetts et al., 2010, 2018). This should not come as a surprise, given the emphasis placed on the superiority of APA journals, research, scholars, referencing systems, theories, research findings and therapies as well as the cultural fixation on an extracted individual level of analysis (Dueck, Ting, & Cutiongco, 2007). Psychology in New Zealand remains overly Eurocentric (e.g. focuses on European or Western culture and history to the exclusion of a wider view of the world) in its outlook and application which has given rise to numerous critiques from

Indigenous psychologists. For example, Peruvian sociologist, Anibal Quijano (1992, 1998, 2000), concept of the 'coloniality of power', advanced in contexts such as Latin America and associated traditions of liberation, offer an avenue for change. The concept speaks directly to our experiences here in Aotearoa New Zealand and the continued exercising of power by colonising groups over colonised groups through the interrelated practices of knowledge production and social orders that have shaped our psychological responses to injustice. We still live in a colonial world and we need to break from the narrow ways of thinking about colonial relations, to accomplish the unfinished and incomplete dream of decolonisation (Grosfoguel, 2011). Redressing the complicity of the social sciences (and WEIRD psychology in particular) in the coloniality of power demands new institutional and community-based locations from which Indigenous peoples can speak and be heard.

Decolonisation through recognising Māori ways of being in psychology

Indigenous psychology in Aotearoa New Zealand has always been a part of how Māori approach wellbeing and health. Māori psychology is anchored by, and merges from, a world-view that values balance, continuity, unity, purpose and interconnection (Nikora, 2007). It is not widely written about, yet it is understood and assumed by Māori, and acted upon and expected (Nikora et.al., 2017). Perhaps it is best referred to by the Māori term 'tikanga', or those 'way(s) of doing and thinking held by Māori to be just and correct' (NZ Law Commission 2003:16). Tikanga has been developed over centuries of practice and is underpinned by core values and principles which govern Māori political, legal, social and spiritual behaviour (Gallagher, 2016). *Tikanga* is a flexible and adaptable knowledge system that can be interwoven to fit with the demands of the moment. **Tikanga** comprises those practices, values, ways of doing things and understanding actions, which have cultural continuity across generations and will always be with us (Nikora et.al., 2017).

Early social scientists to Aotearoa New Zealand sought, through key informants, to document Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) (Nikora et al., 2017). Te Ao Māori includes Tikanga, Te Reo (language and dialects), Marae (community focal point), Waahi Tapu (sites of critical importance), and access to whānau (extended family/communities of support), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (nation, tribe). Early writers and, later, Māori academics, including Sir Peter Henry Buck, Sir Apirana Ngata and Maori Marsden left a hugely rich information base for

contemporary psychologists (Nikora, 2007; Nikora et al., 2014). Correspondingly, the search for Māori psychological frameworks often starts with early works produced by Māori scholars, rather than with WEIRD psychological indexes. In this way, Māori psychologists are displacing non-Indigenous conversations about Indigenous people by building theories from the everyday knowledges drawn from our own communities and worldviews (Groot et al., 2012).

The development of many Indigenous psychologies has been closely associated with processes of decolonisation and with assisting Indigenous and minoritised groups to establish a voice and resources for self-determination in knowledge production and practice. Dissatisfaction with the unquestioned, derivative, and explicative nature of psychological research that is deeply rooted in individualistic strands of European and North American focused psychology has led Indigenous researchers to look outside the discipline to address the devastating problems within our own communities (Groot et.al., 2012). Decolonisation provides a pathway for recovery, the re-establishment and legitimacy of cultural frameworks and the assertion of rights – deeply rooted in Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing (Hodgetts et al., 2010). This has significant implications for a global psychology, which requires an examination of issues of power and privilege in modes of practice and the construction of knowledge (Sonn, 2006; Sonn & Fisher, 2008).

Research produced by Māori scholars and allied colleagues is an example of scholarship that seeks to disrupt coloniality and to advance processes of decolonisation. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) argues: "How can research ever address our needs as Indigenous people if our questions are never taken seriously? It was as if the community's questions were never heard, simply passed over, silenced" (p. 198). Writing on de-colonizing methodologies from a Māori perspective, Smith (1999) has delineated the methods and purposes of research in Indigenous communities: research to assist in claiming resources; testimonies, storytelling, and remembering to claim and speak about painful events and histories; and research that celebrates survival and resilience and that revitalizes language, arts, and cultural practices. Communities beset by various forms of oppression, whose members have suffered from diminished senses of themselves through racism and classism, can use research to not only nurture community understanding, but to help preserve community and cultural practices (Land, 2015; Watkins & Shulman, 2008).

An understanding of colonisation as an ongoing practice is fundamental to decolonisation. We need psychologies that speak to diverse contexts and issues of violence and exploitation, which undermine human flourishing (Watkin & Shulman, 2008). Central to this approach are efforts to build solidarity and dialogues for change within and between different socially positioned communities. Walia (2013) writes: "Decolonization is a dramatic reimagining of relationships with land, people and the state. Much of this requires study. It requires conversation. It is a practice; it is an unlearning." (Walia, 2013). Such moves from centre to margin, from colonising to indigenising/decolonising research, demand and contribute to the democratization of psychological knowledge (Land, 2015; Watkins & Shulman, 2008).

Central to the indigenizing of psychology in Aotearoa New Zealand is an effort to develop a form of the discipline in which local people can recognize themselves and their beliefs and everyday practices (Waitoki & Levy, 2016). Further to this point, an exciting aspect of many Indigenous psychologies is to develop knowledge within and alongside diverse cultures using a variety of methods to produce culturally relevant, sensitive and critical psychological knowledge. This requires us to appropriate, where relevant, international research and teaching resources from psychologies responsive to the context of Indigenous knowledges and evolving relationships in our societies. Such work is important for the survival, uniqueness and heritage of local ways of being and experiencing the world. Bringing together theoretical and conceptual resources from various critical traditions such as Critical Race Theory (Crenshaw, 1998; Hill Collins, 2000), feminist and postcolonial studies (hooks, 1994; Said, 1979), Indigenous scholarship (Enriquez, 1992), and, increasingly, liberation-orientated psychologies (Martin-Baró, 1994; Seedat, 1997; Watkins & Shulman, 2008) is necessary when we critically engage with notions of culture and diversity and the role of privilege and dispossession.

As a group of Māori psychologists at different points in their academic careers (the first and second author [Groot and Le Grice] are junior Māori academics and the third author [Nikora] is a well-established and renowned senior Māori psychologist), this has required us to engage in ongoing conversations about the assumptions underlying our teaching, research and practice. Such conversations are crucial for ensuring the ethical internationalization of a psychology that is responsive to whom we are—and the place we share—today (Nikora et al.,

2017). To illustrate the intersections of these issues, we will now explore two cases of Māori-centred psychological research that attends to culture and exemplify decolonising agendas.

Decolonisation through praxis

Māori focussed research is a diverse field of scholarship and action that provides a pathway for decolonising knowledge production in psychology: the cases that we describe in this section are different and have been produced in different contexts by the authors of this chapter. The first case is a research example of Māori homeless peoples attempts to transform the streets from a landscape of despair to one of care through the enactment of Māori ways of being. This case draws strongly from liberation psychologies, counter-storytelling, and Māori cultural resilience and resistance. In this example, the concerns of Māori were a driving force for our research, which is why it was conducted under the direction of the Māori and Psychology Research Unit (MPRU), and why members of that unit chose to be actively involved as named researchers. The core focus of the unit is research that has at its centre the psychological needs, aspirations, and priorities of Māori people (Nikora, 2007). The third author [Nikora] of this chapter was the co-founder and director of MPRU and the first author [Groot] is a named research associate and former student of the unit.

The second research case sought to explore and legitimate mātauranga (education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill) and tikanga Māori as it informed reproductive decisions made by contemporary Māori in everyday domestic contexts. To understand how mātauranga and tikanga Māori comprise the cultural landscape of reproductive decision-making required casting a net around the wider phenomenon to understand reproductive decisions, parenting, sexuality education, maternities and abortion, as spheres of mutual influence. The research reported here, was part of a wider qualitative study on Māori and reproduction (Le Grice, 2014), undertaken by the second author [Le Grice], using a Mana Wāhine (Māori feminist) research methodology (Le Grice, 2014; Pihama, 2001). Mana Wāhine research privileges Māori women's analyses and aspirations, seeking to decolonise historical and contemporary colonial interpretations about Māori. This case intersects strongly with critical and feminist psychologies and was supported by Pākehā (colonising/settler population primarily descending from the United Kingdom) women who are internationally renowned for their scholarship and activism in these areas.

Case 1: Māori homelessness (Shiloh Groot, Linda Nikora)

Homelessness is not a neutral state, but rather one that is intimately interwoven with other experiences of being on the margins of society. To fully understand the complexities of Māori homelessness, it is crucial that we look beyond narratives of individual trauma and acknowledge that homelessness is rooted in historical experiences of colonisation (Groot, Vandenburg & Hodgetts, 2017). A narrow focus on homelessness as the absence of physical shelter and as evidence of social pathology in urban settings, effectively detaches Māori experiences of homelessness from the broader socio-political context of colonial societies. For example, homelessness is endemic to experiences of colonialism, not only at the personal, but also at the tribal and national level where Māori have experienced over 170 years of being rendered out of place in their ancestral homelands (Groot & Peters, 2016). In such colonial contexts, many Māori live in impoverished and overcrowded conditions and, as such, are overrepresented in the homeless population (Groot et al., 2011; Groot, & Peters, 2016; Groot, Vandenburg & Hodgetts, 2017; Roen & Groot, 2018). Further, institutionalised racism within the social welfare, child-welfare, mental health, public health, juvenile-justice and criminal-justice systems further embed experiences of homelessness for Māori.

Māori are a diverse people and the accounts of those who were rendered homeless speak to the tensions of how displacement from Māori ways of being can work to render certain identities as unrecognizable and unworthy. Simultaneously, the streets offer the opportunity for agency, resistance and disruption to coloniality. In our research Māori cultural concepts were centralised to provide a framework for exploring how specific places, objects and actions constitute Māori homeless people's everyday lives on the streets. This research was located within a larger project that involved engagements with 24 Māori homeless people and the agency staff, physicians, nurses, counsellors, and allied professionals working in urban centres over a three-year period. We engaged in this research through a multi-method approach including intensive volunteer work, direct observations, biographical interviews and photo-production projects.

It is important to note, that Māori homeless people's stories are not just their own. They emerge within a larger universe of societal beliefs, values, and worldviews pertaining to indigeneity, housing, therapeutic interventions, the role of government and the Treaty of Waitangi, family, and social justice. These narratives contain assumptions about what it means to be a 'legitimate member of society' and how we should respond to social inequities. When

weaving their own stories from these narratives Māori homeless people must respond to social expectations and attempt to create a coherent sense of self. What results can both reproduce and challenge such expectations.

While it is common practice to associate Māori strongly with specific tribal territories, we need to recognize our history as one of displacement, disruption and cultural, social, and economic subordination. It is also a history of resistance, resilience, survival and flourishing. The emptying of rural tribal homelands through the flood of Māori to towns and cities has been a prominent and rapid feature of colonisation (Walker, 1990). Many of these new migrants to urban areas ended up flooding the homes of relatives or occupying substandard dwellings and sometimes living in slums that no one else wanted (Nikora et al., 2004). Through such movements, links to places left behind have been reconfigured. Values, beliefs, customary practices, and strategies for everyday life have been translocated and adapted to urban spaces and city life (Nikora, 2007; Groot et al., 2011). While Māori have relocated from their hau kainga (tribal homelands) to occupy urban spaces, many, over the course of their lives, move between the two locales (Nikora et al., 2004), becoming conduits for flows of information, experiences, resources, advice, relatedness and care. The more people engage between places departed and their urban homes, the more likely they are to remain important resources across multiple places. Through engaging the between, they metaphorically invigorate their ahi kaa (tribal home fires): where relationships with people in their tribal homelands are enlivened and nurtured. They maintain their turangawaewae (place of strength and identity). Māori who live their lives in between claim a new space giving rise to multiple relationships and ways of belonging, and to the reality of many homes even when, for some, that home is the streets.

Such complexities surrounding homelessness, home and place are particularly apparent in our research on Māori homelessness. For example, in our engagements with Māori homeless people tensions were evoked through their accounts between the profound sense of whakamā (shame and humiliation) at being dislocated from whānau (extended family, kin networks) and hau kāinga (ancestral homeland), wanting to reconnect back with such places and relationships but fearful of doing so, and affiliating with life somewhere new (the streets). The loss of whanaungatanga (interconnectedness) and wairuatanga (spirituality) is keenly felt by Māori homeless people as a type of spiritual homelessness. Broadening our understanding of homelessness to include spiritual dimensions acknowledges that for Māori, homelessness includes shared histories of state removal from ancestral lands, language, cultural practices,

and family and kinship networks. Such concepts are core to a Māori worldview. Without such understandings, we risk depoliticising homelessness and reducing it to poor 'personal choice'.

Many Māori homeless people have a deep understanding of the structural injustices that have contributed to their situations and aspire to prevent further generations of rangatahi Māori (young people) from experiencing spiritual homelessness by way of actively promoting and reconnecting with Te Ao Māori (the Māori world). In Aotearoa New Zealand we have experienced increased convergence between state welfare and correctional systems (Hodgetts, Stolte, Chamberlain & Groot, 2017). In such an environment, many Māori homeless people must find ways to support each other and enact ways of being Māori to resist forms of spiritual homelessness. Informal peer support networks and spaces of belonging that Māori street youth develop are a common thread in the stories of older Māori homeless people we engaged with. Intergenerational bonds are also common; young people are often taken in by older 'streeties' who adopt a tuakana (mentorship) role, who endeavour to share cultural knowledge, histories, and practices between generations of homeless people. Engagement with Te Ao Māori and connecting with other Māori is often identified as a source of pride, hope, encouragement, and cultural recovery following histories of removal for homeless young people. Importantly for us as Māori psychologists, documenting a clear understanding of how Māori homeless people constitute a sense of belonging or dwelling in the world through the enactment of whanaungatanga enables us to engage in acts of solidarity by enhancing efforts to support the inter-relational needs of Māori homeless people. If Māori are over represented in the homeless population, then we need to ensure Māori perspectives are interwoven into psychological research and response strategies, to provide the bridge between past and current contexts of homelessness and a future ideal state where homelessness does not exist.

Case 2: Māori reproductive decision-making (Jade Le Grice)

It is no coincidence that Māori have higher total fertility rates (Bascand, 2009) and begin parenting at younger ages than Pākehā (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). These indicators, of flourishing fertility among Māori, evidence cultural resistance to a history of colonial-induced depopulation (Le Grice, 2014). However, higher rates of adolescent parenting among Māori have received international attention and, as an issue, have been defined by international comparisons (Clark et al., 2016). The reiteration of comparatively high rates of pregnancy,

abortion and STIs (Sexually Transmitted Infections) among rangatahi Māori paint a negative view of their sexuality, invisibilising their agency, aspiration and capacity for self-determination (Green, 2011). Colonised framings of Māori sexual health psychologies, particularly prominent in media and research, have been 'deficit-based', always framed as 'too much' or 'not enough', compared to a Pākehā implicit norm. In contrast, Pākehā are not positioned as 'at risk', 'overrepresented', 'unwanted' and 'unintended' in sexual and reproductive health matters (Green, 2011). Colonised assumptions about Māori engagement with abortion has stymied conversation about reproduction in this domain, driven by assumptions this was 'widely practiced' due to a 'primitive' cultural context while also 'prohibited' due to 'superstition' (Le Grice, 2017c).

Māori 'savagery' and associated notions of 'exoticism' and 'promiscuity' continue to inform colonising deficit assumptions about Māori parenting (Le Grice, 2014), and are tied to explanations for Māori sexual and reproductive health outcomes (Reid, 2004). These negative constructions of Māori bare similarity to the experiences of people of colour in the United States who are considered sexually promiscuous and not deemed responsible in reproductive decisions or mothering (Silliman et al., 2004). This sociocultural context produces challenges *and* opportunities for intervention through sexuality education. Some Māori parents report difficulty having conversations about sex with rangatahi Māori (young people) (Le Grice, 2017a; Rimene et al., 1998) and discussions about contraception with daughters are feared to promote promiscuity or early sexual relationships by some Māori mothers (Manihera & Turnbull, 1990). This is unsurprising in the context of negative discourses of Māori sexuality. However, Māori language immersion schools approach discussions about sexuality education alongside acknowledgments of the impact colonisation has had on shaping our understandings of Māori sexuality (Levine and Green, 2006). This aligns with approaches to reproductive justice (e.g. Chrisler, 2012) – addressing how matters of race, ethnicity, indigeneity and gender can constrain reproductive decision-making (Silliman et al., 2004) – equipping students with further resources to advocate for their rights and those of others.

We were interested in exploring how Māori negotiate these contexts in their everyday lives, through their personal accounts of sexual and reproductive decision making. Utilising a Mana Wāhine methodology (an approach that privileges Māori women's perspectives and analyses) and semi-structured interviews with 43 (men and women) participants, we explored how participants' reproductive decisions were contextualised by a backdrop of contemporary

instantiations of mātauranga (education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill) Māori pertaining to whānaungatanga (people and their relationships with one another), whakapapa (ancestral relatedness across past, present, and future generations) and wairua (spirituality) (see Le Grice, 2014). We also explored how participants made meaning of sexual relationships through a broader understanding of relationships to atua (spiritual), whenua (ecological) and tangata (human) domains, and in relation to notions of tapu (sacredness) in sexual encounters (Le Grice, 2017a). Attending to non-gendered, flexible and fluid notions of sexuality and the notion of sex as a taonga (treasure) informed a positive notion of sexual agency, de-individualised, and situated in relation to whakapapa (heritage) and future aspirations.

This process foregrounded distinctive Māori ways of being, knowledge and patterns of practice, highlighting the continued relevance of mātauranga and tikanga Māori in contemporary Indigenous lives. Through the case of Māori sexual and reproductive subjectivity, we can see how well-being and health occur within a historical, social and cultural context informed by both Indigenous and Western knowledge, and colonising influence. Sexuality education offers a significant opportunity, as a site of intervention and praxis, to legitimate Māori concepts and meanings of sex, sexuality, and reproduction, subverting colonised assumptions. It also allowed us to focus on a domain of reproduction and childrearing, typically associated with women's voices and cultural knowledge (Le Grice, 2017b). Since early colonial contact, the dominant culture has tended to view and represent Māori men as the natural experts in cultural matters (Mikaere, 2011; Simmonds, 2011; Smith, 2006). However, in this project, we attended to an arena where women's voices feature particularly strong, with a view to legitimate and uphold that.

Research can facilitate a process of moving through stages of learning about mātauranga, tikanga, and te reo Māori in diverse research contexts, surfacing to become a producer of psychological research that is sensitive to and can skilfully incorporate these into knowledge produced about us (by us, and for us). Moving through these different stages, throughout the research was deliberate and purposeful, supported by the guidance of esteemed cultural advisors, who emphasised more than anything else – to take care with Māori research participants and the knowledge they impart. Mātauranga Māori cannot be translated or defined in a simple, two-dimensional way; it is relational, contextual, dynamic, and subsequently – multifaceted (Smith et al., 2016). This foregrounds epistemological and ontological

differences, or assumptions about what constitutes knowledge, from WEIRD psychological approaches.

Many of the research interviews were conducted with people from the ancestral homeplace, Hokianga, of Le Grice [second author] which meant that much of the shared knowledge was similarly patterned, and specific to this area – but was also connected to broader patterns of meaning shared by Māori. This could be connected to specific or more general dialects in te reo Māori (Māori language), visible in different pūrākau (personal and cultural narratives) (Lee, 2009), and locally nuanced ceremonial, everyday practices and skills (Smith et al., 2016). Engaging in Indigenous research highlights the importance of understanding the interrelated connections and relationships between people, especially when we are connected to the people, places, topics, and contexts that we research. Doing research in this way accentuates the importance of valuing people and human life, connecting the researcher, participants, and the students we teach in our lecture theatres. It does so by ensuring that emerging psychological theories and practice, are not disconnected from indigenous peoples' realities, expertise, and aspirations, or created at our expense, or in ways that detach us from and compromise the natural world.

Colonialism as institution and structural metaphor, considerations for psychologies of culture

When we take the idea of colonialism out of its location in history texts as a period of conquest located in the past and begin to think of it as a metaphor for the ways in which we live in our societies and environment, certain patterns become apparent. The outcome of colonialism has been a controlling or blocking of interconnectivity and interdependence in many different related arenas: environmental, economic, political, cultural, social, and, as discussed in detail here, knowledge production (Grosfoguel, 2011). Much of WEIRD psychology has incorporated ideas of individualism and competition among separate bounded, self-determining identities cut off from and transcending environment, culture, and community (Allwood & Berry, 2006). WEIRD psychology is culturally bound in that it serves the benefit of the people living in a Western context. It exports the products of psychology to minoritized cultures through the processes of colonization, commercial exchange, globalization, and Westernization (Grosfoguel, 2011; Walia, 2013). Its failure to recognize the limitations of

Western theories and its fantasy of creating a universal psychology have not only disenfranchised the recipients within and beyond its borders but has attempted to destroy the bastion built by the traditions of those cultures.

Indigenous psychologies should first and foremost be distinguished from other forms of culture-oriented psychologies such as cross-cultural psychology and cultural psychology. Indigenous psychologies are characterised by critical challenges to the dominance of WEIRD psychological knowledge, *and* by indigenous peoples' demands for a voice in decisions that impact on their futures (Nikora, 2007). Those similarities aside, there is significant diversity in the approaches taken by different indigenous psychologies. Some indigenous psychologists are in search of universals or commonalities across peoples whereas others are interested in cultural variability (Allwood & Berry, 2006; Nikora, 2007). Some indigenous psychologists seek to develop knowledge within and alongside other cultures using a variety of methods to produce culturally relevant, sensitive and critical psychological knowledge. Likewise, indigenous psychologists (as demonstrated in the research cases drawn on in this chapter) can align their theoretical and conceptual work with intersecting critical traditions such as Critical Race Theory (Crenshaw, 1998; Hill Collins, 2000), feminist and postcolonial studies (hooks, 1994; Said, 1979), Indigenous scholarship (Enriquez, 1992), and, increasingly, liberation-orientated psychologies (Martin-Baró, 1994; Seedat, 1997; Watkins & Shulman, 2008).

Further, the development of an indigenous psychology might look very different in a country that has been colonized, traumatized, and populated by the West, such as Aotearoa New Zealand, then one which was not. We must consider the socio-political backdrop in each country before assuming a homogeneity in culture-oriented psychologies which emerges in different cultures. Most importantly, whether a local psychology seeks Indigenous expressions or accommodates Western psychologies is their decision (Nikora, 2007). This complexifies the issue of indigenization and highlights the importance of local decision making about the nature of the cultures local communities wish to embrace. In this way, local knowledge becomes a basis for our internationalized discipline, rather than simply the source of exotic exemplars for a trendy form of internationalization (Nikora et al., 2017).

Within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori psychology provides a space for thinking and researching differently, to centre Māori interests and desires, and to speak back to the dominant existing theories that pervade. When Māori engage in contemporary acts of resistance, we are struggling against an already present body of knowledge about ourselves and

our relationships with the coloniality of power. It is appropriate that in this chapter, we have considered Māori voices in the discipline of psychology as a way of challenging the colonising tendencies of our discipline. Such conversations are crucial for ensuring the ethical internationalization of a psychology that is responsive to whom we are—and the place we share—today (Nikora et al., 2017). We suggest that, for psychologists to meaningfully address cultural uniqueness and the diversity of human experience, a decolonizing approach can usefully be taken. We have emphasised how this can reorient knowledge production and psychological interventions away from the management of "deficiencies" or "deviance" towards culturally relevant and community-based responses that support interconnectivity with one another, creating dialogue among diverse points of view and projects of counter-development and liberation. In Aotearoa New Zealand, indigenising psychology through drawing on Indigenous ways of knowing, building disciplinary alliances with other critical traditions and supporting the development of critical community engaged scholarship to promote social change, is part of the restorative process of building a relevant and culturally rooted psychology (Sonn, Rua & Quayle, 2018).

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